

Message Text

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TO OAU COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 158658

FOL RPT CAIRO 15452 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO BELGRADE, HAVANA,
JIDDA, LONDON, MOSCOW, NEW DELHI, PARIS & TEL AVIV DTD 20 JUN 78

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L CAIRO 15452

DEPT PASS OAU COLLECTIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR PORG OAU CU EG

SUBJECT: CUBAN QUESTION AT OAU SUMMIT

REF: KINSHASA 6289

SUMMARY: EGYPTIANS DO NOT BELIEVE THAT SOMALIAN EFFORTS
CALLING FOR CUBAN EXPULSION FROM NAM WILL SUCCEED AT OAU
SUMMIT. GOE FAVORS INTRODUCTION OF MOTION AT KHARTOUM
CALLING FOR POSTPONEMENT OF 1979 NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT IN
HAVANA SINE DIE, WHICH WOULD PUT CUBANS ON NOTICE AGAINST
FURTHER DEPREDATIONS IN AFRICA EVEN IF MOTION DEFEATED.
IN WAKE OF RECENT SHABA DEVELOPMENTS, EGYPTIANS PRECEIVE
WIDENING GAP BETWEEN FRANCOPHONE AND ANGLOPHONE AFRICANS
OVER SECURITY QUESTION. EGYPTIANS IN ACCORD WITH
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NIGERIANS THAT FUTURE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS IN AFRICA
SHOULD BE UNDER OAU AEGIS. EGYPTIANS CONCEDE THAT SOME
AFRICAN MODERATES, INCLUDING NIGERIA AND NIGER, NOT AS
CONCERNED ABOUT CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AS
GOE. EGYPTIANS APPEAR TO BE TAKING CAUTIOUS APPROACH
TOWARD CUBAN QUESTION AT KHARTOUM SUMIT, IN PART BECAUSE
GOE FEELS VULNERABLE DUE TO STALEMATED M.E. PEACE PROCESS.

END SUMMARY.

1. MFA AFRICA DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR AHMED SIDQI, WHO RECENTLY ACCOMPANIED MINSTATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS BOUTROS GHALI ON NINE-NATION AFRICAN SWING, TOLD EMBOFFS JUNE 19 THAT QUESTION OF CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA VERY MUCH ON MIND OF MODERATE AFRICAN LEADERS VISITED (E.G., KOUNTCHE OF NIGER, AHIDJO OF CAMEROON, BONGO OF GABON AND MOBUTO OF ZAIRE). EGYPTIANS FOUND BOTH BONGO AND EXPULSION OF CUBANS FROM NAM BY OBTAINING RES AT OAU SUMMIT. EGYPTIAN OPINION IS THAT SUCH UNPRECEDENTED MOVE UNREALISTIC AND IT HIGHLY UNLIKELY MODERATES COULD OBTAIN MAJORITY OF OAU.

2. EGYPTIAN PROPOSAL, WHICH APPARENTLY FOUND STRONG ECHO WITH AHIDJO, IS TO PROPOSE AT KHARTOUM THAT JULY 1979 NAM SUMMIT IN HAVANA BE POSTPONED SINCE DIE. EGYPTIANS REASON THAT SINCE DIE PROPOSAL MIGHT GET SIMPLE MAJORITY AT KHARTOUM, WHICH CERTAIN TO BE CONFRONTATIONAL MEETING IN ANY CASE, AND MIGHT ALSO FIND CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT AMONG MODERATE NAM MEMBERS AT BELGRADE. EGYPTIANS AWARE THAT YUGOSLAVS UNHAPPY WITH CUBAN AFRICAN ACTIVITIES AND GOE HOPES THAT OAU ENDORSEMENT OF SINE DIE PROPOSAL MIGHT GIVE ADDED IMPETUS TO YUGOSLAV EFFORTS TO BRING CUBANS TO HEEL AT BELGRADE. EVEN IF SINE DIE PROPOSAL WERE TO FAIL TO OBTAIN MAJORITY AT KHARTOUM, CONFIDENTIAL

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CUBANS WOULD BE PUT ON NOTICE THAT LARGE NUMBER OF OAU STATES TAKING CRITICALK LOOK AT THEIR ACTIVITIES. IF CUBAN INVOLVEMENT SUBSEQUENTLY CONTINUED UNABATED, CUBANS MIGHT FEAR INCREASING NUMBER OF OAU STATES MOVING TOWARD SINE DIE PROPOSAL.

3. CENTRAL PROBLEM BOTHERING EGYPTIANS, IN CONNECTION WITH ANTI-CUBAN DISCUSSIONS AT KHARTOUM, IS WIDE BREACH BETWEEN FRANCOPHONE AND ANGLOPHONE AFRICAN STATES OVER ISSUE OF SECURITY. EGYPTIANS CONSIDER THAT PREPARATIONS FOR, AND EXECUTION OF, AFRICAN PEACEKEEPING FORCE FOR SHABA OVERHASTY. EGYPTIANS BELIEVE ANGLOPHONE AFRICANS MUST BE INCLUDED IN ANY FUTURE PEACE-KEEPING FORCE AND SHABA PEACEKEEPING FORCE MUST BE BROADENED TO INCLUDE ANGLOPHONES. "MADE IN PARIS" AURA OF SHABA FORCE TURNS OFF MOST ANGLOPHONE STATES WHO MAY THUS BE INCLINED TO VOTE WITH AFRICAN "PROGRESSIVES" AGAINST FRENCH-SPONSORED OPERATIONS. EGYPTIANS WOULD' LIKE TO AVOID SUMMIT CONDEMNATION OF FRENCH ACTIVITIES BY STRESSING SHORT TERM AND NON-IDEOLOGICAL NATURE OF THESE ACTIVITIES. GOE CONSIDERS IT UNLIKELY THAT FRENCH WILL AVOID KHARTOUM CONDEMNATION, HOWEVER, UNLESS SUCH

AFRICAN STATES AS LIBERIA, GHANA, SIERRA LEONE AND EVEN NIGERIA PARTICIPATE IN FUTURE AFRICAN SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS.

4. COMMENT: SIDQI AGAIN STRESSED NIGERIAN DISAPPOINTMENT AT NOT BEING CONSULTED CONCERNING SHABA PEACEKEEPING FORCE. A REPETITION OF KINSHASA 6289, AND NOTED THAT GHALI HAD URGED MOBUTU TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH NIGERIANS. MOBUTU OBJECTION THAT NIGERIA HAD ADVISORY GROUP IN ANGOLA HAD APPARENTLY BEEN DISMISSED BY GHALI WHO HAD COMMENTED THAT NIGERIAN PRESENCE IN SHABA WOULD MAKE ZAIRE INVOLVEMENT ACCEPTABLY EVEN-HANDED. SIDQI STRESSED THAT EGYPTIANS HAD GOTTEN ENCOURAGING RESPONSES FROM VARIOUS ANGLOPHONE MODERATES CONCERNING PARTICIPATION IN
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FUTURE PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, BUT GOE MAY WELL BE PUTTING TOO MANY EGGS IN NIGERIAN BASKET. END COMMENT.

5. IMPEDIMENT TO PARTICIPATION OF MODERATE ANGLOPHONES IN SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, OPINED SIDQI, IS AD HOC NATURE OF SHABA FORCE. EGYPTIANS AND NIGERIANS FIRMLY BELIEVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD BE UNDER OAU AEGIS. OAU HAS MACHINERY FOR SECURITY FORCE IN ARTICLE 20 OF OAU CHARTER (MILITARY COMMISSION) AND REGIONAL POSSIBILITIES FOR SECURITY COOPERATION EXIST UNDER ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION FOR WEST AFRICA. EGYPTIANS BELIEVE FRENCH COLORATION OF SHABA PEACEKEEPING FORCE MUST BE ATTENUATED QUICKLY OR SPLIT AMONG FRANCOPHONE AND ANGLOPHONE AFRICANS WILL DEVELOP AT KHARTOUM AND ANY CHANCE OF CORNERING CUBANS WILL BE STOPPED. RECENT COMMENTS BY NYERERE PREVIEW OF ANGLOPHONE CRITICISM TO COME.

6. SIDQI CONFESSED THAT NOT ALL AFRICAN STATES VISITED WERE AS DEEPLY CONCERNED BY CUBANS AS GOE. NIGERIANS REMARKED TO EGYPTIAN DELEGATION THAT CUBAN PRESENCE IN ANGOLA SERVES TO KEEP USG FEET TO FIRE ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES. SIDQI STATED THAT NIGERIAN VIEWS ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS CLOSELY PARALLEL THOSE EXPRESSED BY AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND CONCEDED THAT, IN STRICTLY SOUTHERN AFRICAN TERMS, THIS VIEW NOT ENTIRELY ILL FOUNDED. QUARREL WITH CUBAN ACTIVITIES STEMS NOT SO MUCH FROM SOUTHERN AFRICAN CONTEXT AS FROM INEVITABLE EGYPTIAN TENDENCY TO LOOK AT CUBANS THROUGHOUT AFRICA AS SURROGATES FOR SOVIETS WHO (AND THIS AN ARTICLE OF GOE FAITH) ARE OUT TO GET EGYPT AND SADAT.

7. EGYPTIANS ALSO NOTED THAT NIGER'S KOUNTCHE DIFFERENTIATED BETWEEN CUBAN ACTIVITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND
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IN HORN OF AFRICA. KOUNTCHE TOLD GHALI THAT CUBAN ACTIVITY IN ANGOLA OF LITTLE CONCERN TO NIGER AND UNLIKELY TO PROVOKE STRONG NIGEROIS REACTION AT KHARTOUM EVEN AFTER SHABA. ON OTHER HAND, KOUNTCHE WAS VEHEMENT IN CONDEMNATION OF CUBAN-SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN HORN. NIGEROIS SEE MASSIVE CUBAN-SOVIET PRESENCE IN ETHIOPIA AS PROOF THAT CUBANS, AND SOVIET SPONSORS, BUILDING MAJOR LOGISTICAL BASE IN ETHIOPIA FOR SABOTAGE ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA. IN KOUNTCHE'S VIEW, SOVIET-SPONSORED CUBAN SUBVERSION WILL INEVITABLY SPREAD FROM ETHIOPIA ACROSS AFRICAN SAHEL AND WILL SOON POSE A THREAT TO NIGER.

8. COMMENT: EGYPTIANS APPEAR TO BE ATTEMPTING TO TAKE PRAGMATIC APPROACH AT KHARTOUM, RATHER THAN ENGAGING IN FRUITLESS ANTI-CUBAN HISTORICALS. GOE DESIRE TO AVOID PUSH FOR CUBAN EXPULSION FROM NAM AND SIMPLY TO RAISE SINE DIE PLOY, MAY WELL STEM FROM EGYPTIAN WISH NOT TO BE TOO VISIBLY IN VANGUARD OF ANTI-CUBAN FORCES AT TIME WHEN GOE STILL FEELING VULNERABLE IN INTERNATIONAL FORA, DUE STALEMATED PEACE PROCESS. SIDQI COMMENTED THAT ALL AFRICAN LEADERS VISITED BY GHALI PRAISED SADAT PEACE INITIATIVE. EGYPTIANS ALSO NOTICED, HOWEVER, THAT MOST LEADERS OPINED THAT SETTLEMENT UNLIKELY WHILE BEGIN PRIME MINISTER AND WONDERED WHY U.S. HAD NOT TAKEN FIRMER ACTION WITH ISRAEL. PARTICULARLY DISTURBING TO EGYPTIANS MUST HAVE BEEN REQUEST FROM MODERATE AFRICANS FOR GOE TO WORK SERIOUSLY FOR ARAB UNITY, WHICH NECESSARY TO FURTHER AFRO-ARAB SOLIDARITY. EILTS UNQUOTE VANCE

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